5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

As the members of a gens were all considered as relatives, however remote, there was a law prohibiting a man from marrying within his gens. Originally this law was strictly enforced, but like many of the ancient customs it is no longer observed. Lately, within the last forty or fifty years, it has become not uncommon for a man and his family, or even two or three families, on account of some quarrel or some personal dislike of the chief of their own gens, to leave it and join another band. Thus the gentes often received outsiders, who were not related by blood to the gens; and such people or their descendants could marry within the gens. Ancestry became no longer necessary to membership.

As a rule, before a young man could marry, he was required to have made some successful expeditions to war against the enemy, thereby proving himself a brave man, and at the same time acquiring a number of horses and other property, which would enable him to buy the woman of his choice, and afterwards to support her.

Marriages usually took place at the instance of the parents, though often those of the young man were prompted by him. Sometimes the father of the girl, if he desired to have a particular man for a son-in-law, would propose to the father of the latter for the young man as a husband for his daughter.

The marriage in the old days was arranged after this wise: The chief of one of the bands may have a marriageable daughter, and he may know of a young man, the son of a chief of another band, who is a brave warrior, of good character, sober-minded, steadfast, and trustworthy, who he thinks will make a good husband for his daughter and a good son-in-law. After he has made up his mind about this, he is very likely to call in a few of his close relations, the principal men among them, and state to them his conclusions, so as to get their opinions about it. If nothing is said to change his mind, he sends to the father of the boy a mes-

It is a common belief among some of those who have investigated the subject that the wife in Indian marriage was actually purchased, and became the absolute property of her husband. Though I have a great respect for some of the opinions which have been expressed on this subject, I am obliged to take an entirely different view of the matter. I have talked this subject over many times with young men and old men of a number of tribes, and I cannot learn from them, or in any other way, that in primitive times the woman was purchased from her father. The husband did not have property rights in his wife. She was not a chattel that he could trade away. He had all personal rights, could beat his wife, or, for cause, kill her, but he could not sell her to another man. 421 593

All the younger sisters of a man's wife were regarded as his potential wives. If he was not disposed to marry them, *they could not be disposed of to any other man without his* consent. 595 [582]

Not infrequently, a man having a marriageable daughter formally gave her to some young man who had proved himself brave in war, successful in taking horses, and, above all, of a generous disposition. This was most often done by men who had no sons to support them in their old age. 583

It is said that in the old days, before they had horses, young men did not expect to marry until they had almost reached middle life, — from thirty-five to forty years of age. This statement is made by Wolf Calf, who is now very old, almost one hundred years, he believes, and can remember back nearly or quite to the time when the Blackfeet obtained their first horses. In those days, young women did not marry until they were grown up, while of late years fathers not infrequently sell their daughters as wives when they are only children. 582 178 [115] [584]

The first woman a man marries is called his sits-beside-him wife. She is invested with authority over all the other 595

Although a woman, all her life, was subject to some one's orders, either parent, relative, or husband, a man from his earliest childhood was free and independent. His father would not punish him for any misconduct, his mother dared not. At an early age he was taught to ride and shoot, and horses were given to him. By the time he was twelve, he had probably been on a war expedition or two. As a rule in later times, young men married when they were seventeen or eighteen years of age; and often they resided for several years with their fathers, until the family became so large that there was not room for them all in the lodge.

There were always in the camp a number of boys, orphans, who became the servants of wealthy men for a consideration; that is, they looked after their patron's horses and hunted, and in return they were provided with suitable food and clothing.

Among the Blackfeet, all men were free and equal, and office was not hereditary. Formerly each gens was governed by a chief, who was entitled to his office by virtue of his bravery and generosity. The head chief was chosen by the chiefs of the gentes from their own number, and was usually the one who could show the best record in war, as proved at the Medicine Lodge,[1] at which time he was elected; and for the ensuing year he was invested with the supreme power. But no matter how brave a man might have been, or how successful in war, he could not hope to be the chief either of a gens or of the tribe, unless he was kind-hearted, and willing to share his prosperity with the poor. For this reason, a chief was never a wealthy man, for what he acquired with one hand he gave away with the other. It was he who decided when the people should move camp, and where they should go. But in this, as in all other important affairs, he generally asked the advice of the minor chiefs.

The *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* (All Comrades) were directly under

[1] See chapter on Religion.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

"The Grave Yard." Before the plague abated some six thousand persons, or nearly two-thirds of the entire Blackfoot population, succumbed. Old people who had survived the smallpox epidemic of 1781 generally weathered this one. Many of the strong, impatient young men who would not heed Culbertson's warnings were victims. Nevertheless, unlike the Mandans farther down the Missouri, who were the hardest hit of all the Northern Plains tribes, Blackfoot survivors did not blame the whites for their misfortune.[34]

Culbertson claimed that following this epidemic and the dispersal of the Indians into different bands, knowledge of relationships sometimes was lost to the young, so that marriages took place between first cousins and even brothers and sisters. Yet so rapidly did the Blackfeet recover population-wise that seventeen years after the terrific loss Edwin T. Denig, an intelligent and experienced trader, estimated their numbers were only one-third less than they had been before the smallpox epidemic.[35]

The volume of Indian trade at Fort McKenzie continued to increase. In the winter after the smallpox epidemic ten thousand buffalo robes were traded. Robes belonging to victims of the plague may have been included in this number. The trade steadily increased to about twenty-one thousand robes by 1841. Stimulated by desire for the white man's attractive trade goods, Indian hunters were killing more buffalo and their womenfolk were dressing more robes for market.[36]

Blackfoot relations with American traders remained friendly until 1844. That January a passing war party requested and was refused admittance to Fort McKenzie. Incensed by this treatment, the red warriors killed a pig belonging to the fort. When men from the fort pursued the Indians, the Blackfeet ambushed and killed one of their number. Vowing vengeance, François Chardon and Alexander Harvey loaded the fort cannon with

[34] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 221–26; Chardon, *Journal*, 394–95.

[35] Bradley, "Manuscript," *MHSC*, Vol. III, 232–33; Denig, "Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri," Bureau of American Ethnology, *Forty-sixth Annual Report*, 625.

[36] Bradley, "Manuscript," *MHSC*, Vol. III, 226, 233

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

might be ended by a payment of horses to the family of the deceased. Thus it was possible for a wealthy man literally to get away with murder, although he would not enhance his popularity by doing so.

Frequent changes in band allegiance brought together in one residential community people without blood relationship closer than that of second cousins. Marriage between such persons was permitted. In fact, the fathers and mothers of several of my older Blackfoot informants were members of the same band at the time of their marriages.

Young men enjoyed remarkable freedom in their sexual life. They accosted girls while they were alone gathering wood or water on the outskirts of camp. They bragged of their conquests, particularly if they had had an affair with a married woman. Chastity before marriage was more an ideal than a reality for many girls. Yet a girl who earned a reputation for being too free with her favors might have to be satisfied with marrying a poor boy whose future prospects were equally poor.

Faint-hearted lovers, or more aggressive ones whose advances were repulsed by the girls of their choice, sometimes employed love medicines to bring them success in their amorous endeavors. These were secret formulae concocted by specialists for a fee. Because the Cree Indians were famous for these medicines, the Blackfeet referred to love medicine as "Cree Medicine." There were many varieties. One such medicine called for making two little birch bark images, one representing a man and the other a woman. A stick was dipped in the liquid medicine, then touched to the hearts of the male and female figures. This magic was certain to make the girl long for the company of her as yet unsuccessful lover. So powerful were love medicines reputed to be that resistance to them was considered useless.

Fathers and mothers were ambitious for their daughters to marry well. It was not uncommon for the father of a little girl to tell a successful warrior, "When my daughter is old enough, she will be your wife." The marriage might not take place for a decade. Elk-Hollering-in-the-Water told me she was promised

[ca. 1850]

to Bear Chief when she was no more than seven. She married him when she was about seventeen. Some girls married before the age of twelve, but many reached their middle teens before they took this serious step. Few young men married before the age of twenty-one. 584 582

It was considered a family disgrace for an unmarried girl to become pregnant. The girl alone was held responsible for her actions. It was something of a disgrace to the families of both boy and girl if they eloped. The socially approved marriage was an important family function. It was arranged by a close friend or a relative of the boy with the girl's father or elder brother. Marriage was simply solemnized by an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. The first gifts could be offered by either the bride's or the groom's folks. Horses always were the most prized gift. One or more horses were invariably given, along with robes or blankets and household goods of lesser value. Relatives commonly chipped in to make the marriage gifts as imposing as possible. It was expected that the gifts returned by the spouse's family should be more lavish than those they had received. The bride went to live with her husband in a separate lodge or that of his family. 848 583 584 585 431

My elderly informants were very careful to remind me that white men who claimed the Blackfeet used to purchase their wives were misinformed. They stressed the importance of the exchange of gifts in the old-time Blackfoot marriage ceremony. [583]

After marriage it was improper for the husband to speak directly to his mother-in-law. But his ties with the male members of his wife's family generally became very strong. He commonly gave horses to his elder brother-in-law after his return from a successful horse raid. He sometimes gave him choice buffalo meat after a hunt. 602 [606] [607]

Polygamy was common among the Blackfeet because it was a practical means of caring for the excess of women created by heavy war losses. Women outnumbered men by two or three to one. Possession of several wives was one of the distinguishing marks of the successful man. A few of the leading chiefs had ten 595 [182] [556]

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

and 555 sharp iron blades for the Indian women's use in dressing buffalo hides.[31]

Agent May's indignation was aroused by the number of white men who were living with Indian women on the Indian lands. He proposed that they should marry these women or leave the reservation, saying, "I will not, if left to act upon my own judgment allow so many bastard families to flourish under my eye."

When, in the year 1871, the United States government discontinued the policy of making treaties with Indian tribes as if they were foreign nations, the status of Blackfoot lands still was confused. The Indians supposed they had relinquished their lands south of the Teton River by the treaties of 1865 and 1868, but those treaties had never been ratified. Legally the Blackfeet had ceded none of their land. Yet there were thousands of white settlers living on ranches and farms, in mining camps, and in several flourishing towns on land formerly occupied by the Blackfoot Indians.

To legalize white settlement of this Indian land, President Grant, on July 5, 1873, issued an executive order establishing a large reservation, including all of Montana east of the Rockies and north of the Missouri and Sun rivers, for the Blackfoot tribes, the Gros Ventres, Assiniboins, and River Crow Indians. But the new order was obsolete before it was issued. White ranchers were running thousands of cattle on the Indian lands north of Sun River. Dissatisfied with the new boundary, Montana settlers put pressure upon their territorial delegate in Washington, Martin Maginnis, to get the line moved farther north. On February 7, 1874, a letter from Maginnis read before the Montana legislature told of his progress in getting this boundary redrawn.

> After a hard struggle I succeeded in obtaining from the Indian Department an agreement to change the boundaries of the reservation for the Blackfoot and other Indians. They agree to recede to the line of the Marias, from its mouth to the mountains.[32]

[31] May to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1874, Indian Office Records.
[32] *Weekly Independent* (Deer Lodge City, Montana Territory), February 14, 1874.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

of Indians who had gained some knowledge of handling them and a realization of the superiority of their use over foot travel and transport of camp equipment, encouraged intertribal theft. Actually there need not have been any prolonged interval between a tribe's first acquisition of horses and its initiation of horse-raiding operations. Some tribes may have begun raiding for horses within a decade after they acquired their first animals by peaceful means.

ACQUISITION OF HORSES BY THE BLACKFOOT

With this background let us consider the acquisition of the horse by the Blackfoot tribes. I have omitted these tribes from the previous discussion in order to point out the unique factors involved in Blackfoot acquisition in greater detail.

Prior to the publication of "David Thompson's Narrative" in 1916, it was the practice for students to estimate the date of Blackfoot horse acquisition. These estimates ranged from Wissler's previously mentioned and impossibly early "1600" to Grinnell's impossibly late "about the year 1800" (Hodge, 1907, pt. 1, p. 570). Burpee split the difference in his estimate of "probably the earliest years of the eighteenth century" (Hendry, 1907, p. 318). This approximated another estimate by Wissler in 1910, of "about two hundred years ago" (Wissler, 1910, p. 19).

More recent estimates have been based upon interpretations of a most remarkable account of some important events in the history of the Blackfoot during the lifetime of an aged Cree Indian, Saukamaupee (Boy) by name, who had been living with the Piegan for many years before David Thompson, Hudson's Bay Company trader, spent the winter of 1787–88 in his lodge. Thompson (1916, pp. 328–334) reckoned the old man's age at that time at "at least 75 to 80 years." Using Thompson's conservative estimate, we may consider that Saukamaupee was born no later than between 1707 and 1712. In dating the first episode of his story the old man pointed to a "lad of about sixteen years" in the camp and said that he had been about that boy's age when he went with a small group of Cree to aid the Piegan in a battle with the Snakes in which neither of the opposing forces used either guns or horses. On the basis of the above computation this must have been no later than 1723–28. Saukamaupee returned to his own people, "grew to be a man, became a skillful and fortunate hunter, and . . . procured . . . a wife." Thompson noted that Piegan "young men seldom married before they are full grown, about the age of 22 years or more." If the Cree, more than half a century earlier, followed that same custom, we may estimate that Saukamaupee was married no later than 1729–34. Saukamaupee explained that during the interval between his assistance to the Piegan

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

"That is how you get your leadership. When people want a chief they select a good hearted man." [78]

To dispense patronage the ambitious man required a degree of wealth. Probably this helps to explain why some early writers found that the chieftaincy appeared to run in families. Provided a member of a chief's family had a good war record he possessed a distinct advantage in the reputation of his family for past favors granted to members of his band. Other band members had confidence in his ability to use his inherited wealth to maintain the standard of generosity toward them set by his father or elder brother.

The Blackfoot band, the social and political unit throughout the greater part of the year, was a fluid organization. Both the number of bands and the membership of each was subject to almost continual change. Father Point, who spent the winter of 1846–47 with the Piegan claimed there were only "seven or eight fractions of the Piegan tribe" (De Smet, 1905, vol. 3, p. 952). Yet Wissler (1911, p. 21) listed 23 Piegan bands. While it is possible Point may have missed some Piegan bands in his calculation it is more probable that the bands named by Wissler were not all contemporaneous. Heavy losses attendant upon war casualties and severe epidemics necessitated combinations and regroupings of bands, to provide camps of sufficient strength to withstand and revenge enemy attacks. Population growth tended to encourage division of larger bands into smaller units requiring less buffalo for subsistence. Grinnell believed the existence of bands bearing the same name among two Blackfoot tribes was due to persons leaving one tribe to live with another who chose to preserve the name of their former band rather than unite with an existing band in their new tribe. He also claimed that "within the last forty or fifty years (i. e. since ca. 1840–50) it has become not uncommon for a man and his family, or even two or three families, on account of some quarrel or some personal dislike of the chief of their own gens (band), to leave it and join another band. Thus the gentes (bands) often received outsiders" (Grinnell, 1892, p. 210). Although Blackfoot bands may originally have been composed of groups of blood relatives, it is certain that, by processes such as described above, they became mixed long ago. In my informant's youth band exogamy was preferred but not obligatory. Both parents of some of my older informants were of families of the same band affiliation.

Informants indicated that poor people were the most migratory in their band affiliations. They became camp followers of the leader

[78] Opler indicated the situation was similar among the Southern Ute, "A man would be wanted for chief if he gave away horses to all those poor people" (Opler, 1940, p. 165).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The tendency for the head chieftaincy to run in families has been more marked among the Blood Indians. Since ante-1869 the tribal head chieftaincy has descended in the family of Seen-from-Afar and Red Crow to the present (1951) chief, Shot-on-Both-Sides. Weasel Tail claimed that Buffalo Back Fat, head chief of the Blood Indians in 1832, fathered another tribal head chief who bore the same name.

It is certain that the head chief rose to office through distinction gained as a prominent band chief. The basic requirements of outstanding war record and generosity, therefore, were essential to his advancement.

Blackfoot recognition of social status upon the basis of horse ownership served indirectly to limit the power of both tribal and band chiefs in intertribal relations. Older chiefs, who had amassed considerable wealth, and who no longer went to war themselves, would lose more than they could gain through continued warfare. Often they looked with favor upon peace with some neighboring tribe. But their desires were thwarted by ambitious young men who could not be deterred from horse raids against the neighboring tribes in order to gain status for themselves. Father Point (in 1847) found Piegan young men willing to listen to his exhortations to cease stealing from neighboring tribes only if he "could immediately make 'Great Men' of them" (De Smet, 1905, vol. 3, p. 954).

MARRIAGE

The institution of marriage among the Blackfoot offered men of wealth opportunities for wide selection of women for wives, while the marital opportunities of the poor were restricted. A boy of a poor family, who was not very ambitious, had little chance of marriage except to a girl of his own social class. However, the father of a girl of rather loose morals, "who chased around with one fellow after another," might tell her, "You marry that poor fellow, and settle down." There were also orphan girls in camp, some of whom were flighty in their affections, available to marry poor boys. On the whole marriages tended to be contracted between persons of nearly equal status. A poor young man who had been successful in amassing a herd of 8 or 10 horses might be recognized as a young man with a future and might marry into a family of higher status. On the other hand, a wealthy man was besieged with offers of the daughters of ambitious parents of lower status.

Informants resented any implication of bride purchase in the Blackfoot marriage ceremony, insisting there was an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. This exchange of gifts has been mentioned in accounts of Blackfoot marriage by Bradley

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Piegan chief.[129] Although this evidence is scanty it certainly is suggestive of an increase in the size of herds. What is most significant for our purposes is that by 1833, the time when the large markets for tanned robes in the States first developed, there already existed an accumulation of horses that made possible the ensuing expansion of polygyny. This expansion in turn perpetuated and intensified the social gradations that already existed, for men with large herds were the ones who could purchase many wives, and in the exchange thereby transform idle capital (surplus horses) into productive capital (women).

Following the growth of polygyny and the increasing importance of the bride price in horses we find that the age at which marriages occurred was also altered. There was a tendency for girls to marry at a younger age and for men to marry at a later age. In 1787 Thompson reported that girls usually married between sixteen and eighteen, and men at twenty-two or somewhat later.[130] In 1885, Rev. Wilson's informants told him that girls normally married at twelve.[131] Our own informants, speaking of the period of the latter half of the nineteenth century, placed the age of marriage for girls between ten and sixteen and that of men at thirty-five, rarely at less. It is during this period that we get the first cases of child marriage. Fathers now wished to marry off their daughters as early as possible in order to realize the bride price. On the other hand, men were not chosen as sons-in-law until they had accumulated sufficient property and had acquired a good reputation as a warrior or hunter.

The increase in the number of wives brought greater friction within the household. The effect of the sororate in eliminating hostilities diminished and at the same time the contrasts between the status of upper and lower wives were intensified. The native term for a wife lower than third or fourth means slave wife, which accurately describes their status. Lower wives performed the most difficult tasks, rarely put up Sun Dances, were most often beaten and most often suspected of adultery.

Social Organization

The fur trade stimulated inter-tribal intercourse. Tribes which had little contact with each other met at trading posts with the result of much borrowing and spreading of culture elements. A case in point is the borrowing of age grade societies by the Blackfoot from some of the village tribes to the south.

The historical material offers little in the way of positive evidence for the

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[129] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[130] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[131] Wilson, *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Assoc. for the Adv. of Science*, Sept. 1885, p. 192.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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scattered because of the limited food supply;[20] in summer, they "tended to collect and move about, both for trade and for the hunt."[21] Band endogamy was "not good form but not criminal."[22] Residence, in general, was patrilocal,[23] the young couple setting up their tipi alongside the groom's father's. It was not unusual, however, for a man to join his wife's band upon marriage.[24]

Equally significant in Blackfoot social organization were the men's societies[25] which had "certain names, fixed rules and laws, as well as their peculiar songs and dances" and which served "in part to preserve order in the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties."[26] As early as the 1830's, seven such "unions" were noted, their members usually joining the youngest and gradually rising higher through the others.[27] Entrance depended upon the payment of a fee, a medicine man and persons of distinction buying in at greater cost.[28]

These nomads, or "equestrian natives" as Cocking called them,[29] were particularly favored by circumstance. Their country was well stocked with the buffalo upon which they depended for food, shelter, and clothing; their early possession of the horse and the gun, and their comparative freedom from white pressure gave ample opportunity for effective hunting and substantial profit from an expanding fur trade. This profit was measured in horses. Not only did the horse become their most valued possession, but among them, as elsewhere on the Northern Plains, it formed the chief medium of exchange. Everything—trade goods, bride price, ceremonial privilege, and often personal support—was acquired by the payment of horses. In most instances, the loss of capital was only temporary: medicine bundles, pipes, and society memberships were actually investments[30] that could be resold, sometimes even at a profit, and distributions to maintain prestige were, in effect, convenient forms of credit. Expectancy is succinctly expressed in the oft-heard comment, "If a Blood gives a horse away one day,

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[21] *Idem.*
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[25] This is the term Wissler uses (See Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, Table of Contents, p. 363.)
[26] Maximilian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, *Travels in the Interior of North America in the years of 1832-1833 and 1834*, p. 255.
[27] *Idem.*
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 256.
[29] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Cf. also p. 111, for a statement on their more favorable situation.
[30] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 277. Cf. also Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.

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A chief of the Followers-of-the-Buffalo Band gave Big Snake a fast buffalo horse and in return Big Snake presented him with a fine weasel tail suit. The Buffalo chief soon regretted his generosity and wished to recover his gift. Accompanied by his father, he entered Big Snake's tipi and demanded his horse. Big Snake shot and killed him. The father ran from the tipi. "No one tried to avenge his death because Big Snake was much stronger." 578 157 682 [431]

Many Pinto Horses, his brother, Packs His Tail, and Buffalo Chief were all handsome and wealthy. Buffalo Chief and Many Pinto Horses were drinking and quarreling. Each told of the grudge he bore the other. "Afterwards Buffalo Chief didn't feel good and moved off." 578 273

Some members in the Many-Children Band were envious of Packs His Tail because he was rich. One day, he visited their camp, and after considerable drinking on both sides, they took away his gun and killed him. When his brother, Many Pinto Horses, came to avenge his death the Many-Children shot him, too. [682]

The following are tales of feuding within the family of the wealthy and famous Blood chief, Red Crow, who signed the treaty in 1877 which established his tribe on its reserve: 578 621 [648]

When Red Crow was appointed head chief in 1877, his older brother, Sheep Old Man was greatly angered. He left his band and joined the Followers-of-the-Buffalo where he also had friends and relatives.

Sheep Old Man, his sister, Revenge Walker, and her husband, Running Bird, were camping with their followers at Calgary. Red Crow came in with some of his supporters. Two relatives, Many Dust, a band chief of the Hairy-Shirts, and Owns Center Painted Tipi, accused him of keeping property that rightfully belonged to his sister, Revenge Walker. The unwelcome visitors were ejected from his tipi, and Revenge Walker, unable to persuade her husband to accompany her—in fact he forthwith left her—went alone to her brother's tipi to demand her property. When Red Crow saw her approaching, he ran off. Revenge Walker consoled herself by killing some of his horses. Sheep Old Man then said, "Now we will have trouble. We had better move our tipis away from our relatives." [685]

At another time, Sheep Old Man, while drunk, shot his younger brother, Not Real Good, in the shoulder. Their sister, Revenge Walker, was so angered that she wanted to kill Sheep Old Man. As dawn came, Not Real Good, said, "Older sister, you have had trouble with our brother, Red Crow. Now you are having trouble with Sheep Old Man, our brother, also. Only you and I are together. We have other brothers but they may not like us because we have been having trouble with Red Crow and Sheep Old Man. They may stick to them. Running Bird, your husband, has left because of your quarrels. Marry the white trader. He may have good medicine and then I may get well. His sister answered, "I do not want to see you die. I will do as you advise, although I do not like to marry a white man. But then I might get even with Red Crow when he comes to trade." So she married Davis, the trader. [273] [539] [582]

When Red Crow heard that his sister had married, he brought some fine tanned dresses, shirts and twenty horses to her as a gift. He greeted his sister and asked her forgiveness. Revenge Walker said, "I was going to kill you, but I think so much of

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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657 large herds might still prefer a poor yet capable son-in-law. More often,
556 however, he tried to cement his position by marrying his daughter to the
[581] son of another rich man. Such marriages took place, for the most part, between children of ten or twelve years,[49] *minipoka* or "favorites." To enhance
[557] the status of the head of the family, these children were honored with special
[582] gifts and exempted from normal duties. Even as adults, they did not participate in the ordinary way in tribal life. The men continued to validate their position by generous giving, but the gifts they offered were more often derived from inheritance and the exploitation of brothers and sons-in-law than from their own labors. The girls grew up without learning to cook, and long after marriage expected their mothers to prepare their meals and carry them to their tipis.

556 Parental desire to channel wealth permanently was, however, frequently
581 frustrated. The early training of these young and favored children made for
586 even greater marital instability than was customary for the tribe as a whole.
[184] It was usually the rich or the handsome (and the two were often identical) who were credited with many marriages. The poor, less sought after, stuck it out longer, if not through thick and thin.

581 The following is a description of the marriage of two favorites. Thirty-
184 five years later, the informant spoke of this short interlude with deepest pain. Like a hurt child he reviewed the hardships of these months of living together.

581 Yellow Wolf, my father, said to me, "Now don't fool around with anybody for
184 you are a *minipoka*, and you should have a proper marriage." A marriage was ar-
585 ranged for me and Wakes at Night, the daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighters Band. She was a *minipoka* too, and only fourteen years old. She brought blankets and about fifteen pair of moccasins, enough for all the members of my family. She brought a pair for me. She also brought two broken and six unbroken horses. Yellow Wolf and his relatives put up twenty-five horses, their best ones. When this gift was sent to White Buffalo Robe, my father-in-law, Wakes at Night rode in front on a fine saddle horse. She wore a weasel-tail suit and a headdress. A wagon was loaded with blankets and goods. They were all taken over to White Buffalo Robe. White Buffalo Rib, a brother of Wakes at Night, received some of the horses. . . .

581 Wakes at Night was the second child, but like her older brother, she was also a
184 *minipoka*. Our marriage was not a happy one. She did not treat me very well. We fought constantly about where we should live. White Buffalo Robe wanted me to live at his place, because his daughter was so young and got homesick. My father did not want to let me go—and besides I wanted to stay home with him. Whenever White Buffalo Robe thought I had done something wrong, he took his daughter home. This happened several times. I would send my father for her and get her back. When I took my wife to visit her parents, her father would keep us there for a longer time

[49] A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*, p. 35, notes a similar tendency of the rich to marry early.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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than we had intended to stay, and my father, knowing what would happen when we went away, would make it hard for us to go.

It is not surprising that a marriage of this kind, with the children maneuvering to remain in their respective privileged homes, and the fathers maneuvering for even the limited *minipoka* help, did not last long. This one broke up in a year and a half.

When the favorites remarried, pomp, ceremony and property exchange were usually omitted, as they were in second marriages throughout the tribe. Free from the pressure of parents, a man might select a wife from any stratum of society. Passion rather than property dictated the new choice.

The growing concentration of horse wealth made an unstable marriage situation even more precarious. Young men had great difficulty in obtaining a wife at all, for they could neither pay for nor support one. Such difficulty was not unknown in the older Blood society despite the excess of women over men. The established hunters and warriors (i.e., men who had horses or their equivalent in ceremonial prestige) had two, three, or more wives.[83] Fathers urged their young and attractive daughters, then as now, upon older and successful men. But while the time of marriage was late (many men were twenty-five and the sons of the poor frequently over thirty)[84] a young man still had some chance to rise on his own initiative and win recognition. In the early eighties, and for twenty years to follow, he suffered from all the old disadvantages of the polygamous society, and the new order offered him few satisfactory ways of exhibiting his worth. In 1882, it was reported, "there was very little crime. More trouble was caused by the stealing of women from each other. Women sold for horses. Only a few are rich enough to buy women now. Most of the young men who have no horses cannot get married, and therefore steal from someone rich in women."[85]

Nevertheless, a few ways remained for making a living. A man might work out for whites or become a scout or farmer in the government service, or if he preferred to follow Indian custom, he could seek a vision and become a shaman, although remunerative practice did not immediately follow. Or he might, and here the rewards were quicker, improve his position by marrying a rich women, often some ten or fifteen years his senior. A sufficiently ambitious man might combine all of them. John Many Rattles did.[86] Born in 1862, he reached adulthood when it was most difficult for young men to rise. He hired out to whites, became a government scout at thirty-three,

[83] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 526, "Many of them have six or seven wives."

[84] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 40. Cf. also Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272.

[85] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[86] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes, 1939.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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of her ill-mannered ways she was accused of joking obscenely with a paternal cross-cousin who was nominally her grandmother. In another case a man was reciting a general formula for handling wives who had gone home from their husbands: "Then the husband would send his sister to the home of the wife's brothers to solicit in his behalf." If it be recalled that she along with her brother is elevated by siblings of the wife's family, then we can understand her power as mediator. In another instance a man married two women who were cross-cousins to each other; he was severely criticised for marrying wives who were "two generations apart."

We were struck by the differing ethos of the woman's world as compared with the man's. Confined in their activity largely to the camp, women were more complacent, resigned, physically less active, and less apt to engage in physical battle to settle their differences. This, we believe, was in part the result of the greater importance of kinship in fixing their social relations than was the case with men. First it was more difficult for women to alter their status in the social group than for men. War and wealth did not offer opportunities; rather the woman's position was dependent in this male-dominated society upon the status of her husband. The wife of a chief (*ni'na.ki*) might display her personal finery to the discredit of other women, but it was only as the wife of a chief that such conduct was possible. Otherwise she was a deviant who was treated accordingly. To be sure, women might raise their status in the social hierarchy through religious and ceremonial participation, but unlike coups in battle, the woman who vowed six Sun Dances was accorded very little, if any, more respect than one who vowed one or two Sun Dances. Though women took pride in good handwork, there was no widespread or standardised recognition of these accomplishments that we have uncovered, unlike the Cheyenne women who were admitted to a society in recognition for outstanding handwork.[6] Hence the kinship system appears to be more effective than was the case with men in channeling social relationships between women, for there were fewer competing factors to disrupt its efficient working.

Marriage: A Union between Female and Male Worlds

The male world was outside the tipi in the tending of horses, hunting and the counting of coups. There the world was ordered through seniority. Within the tipi it was a woman's world with objects made by the woman, with children to be tended, and with other women categorized in terms of generation who assisted her with her duties. Marriage was the institution that united these two worlds, but it presented a break with the life of the past for both partners.

[6] Grinnell, G. B. *The Cheyenne Indians*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924, Vol. 1, p. 159 ff.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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667 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
[778] ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[575] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
[575] under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[571] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and Ma'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
581 obtain the rewards of the culture.
582

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

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with seniority as the greater weight. However, regardless of seniority the wife's brother had the right to call home his sister in case of her being mistreated, and if this occurred soon after the initial marriage contract, return of the wedding gifts might be demanded. This prerogative was, of course, balanced by the more frequently exercised right of a husband to send his wife away in case of her failure to meet his demands. Normally, sex rather than family lines constituted the major cleavage, so that the two men cooperated to keep the woman faithful. 601 607 [586]

Similarly son and son-in-law were neatly balanced. The son, as we shall see presently, was the most important offspring yet little more important than the son-in-law. The rationale of the mother-in-law tabu, as stated by most women, hinges on the emotion of respect. Weight is given this phrasing in behavior, for the greater the prestige of the son-in-law, the greater the number of female in-laws who observed avoidance norms. The respect was also accompanied by periodic gifts exchanged between the son-in-law and parents-in-law. The supremacy of the son in the eyes of his parents may be seen by the following incident where a woman was dying. On her deathbed she summoned her son-in-law who entered the room with eyes lowered so as not to look in her face. After hearing the last words directed to other relatives, the son-in-law was addressed through his wife; the old woman said: "Be kind to your husband; treat him well after I am gone. I love you very much, but I love him better. I love him like a son." 601 606 [593] [554] [431] [593]

Lineage was traced through the mother's line as well as through the father's. Incest was reckoned if any relationship between the two prospective spouses could be discovered. There was, however, little memory beyond three generations, when the line diffused into vagueness. With names a slight patrilineality showed itself in the desire to make a great name "live in every generation." Thus we find sons and grandsons of famous people still bearing such names as Crowfoot, Eagle Ribs, Old Sun and Many Swans. It would be unusual for a son-in-law to take a family name of this type, but if he did, it was deemed a great honor to the family, for which he would be given a good horse. More likely he would feel obliged to keep alive the important names of his own family. There were also great female names passed down in the line from mother to daughter, but their importance was overshadowed by the male names. 601 [582] [835] 601 551 [553] [562]

Inheritance of property was also multilateral. A list of recipients in order of their priority might run like this: older brother, younger brother, son, wife's brother, daughter's husband. Nominally, females might receive property and dispose of it, though in practice the husband of the woman received it and acted as agent. Horses, which made up the body of the legacy since household furnishings were parts of the mortuary tipi, were not ordinarily given to lone women, as they had no means for caring for them. The male 428 421 562 [429] ooo

000 great tribal hunt and the tribal sun dance.

B G 621 628 [731] [165] During the nineteenth century, at least, these hunting bands were fluid organizations. Population growth and internal frictions caused the splitting up of bands. Loss of population due to devastating smallpox epidemics and disastrous enemy attacks necessitated the regrouping of bands. Individuals or families dissatisfied with the leadership of their band could and did leave that band to join another. It was not uncommon for poor people to attach themselves to the band whose leader they felt would be most liberal in loaning them horses or dispensing his favors. Certainly all members of a band needed not to be kinsmen, nor was marriage within the band forbidden.

B G 582

B 101 621 Due to these factors the numbers and sizes of the hunting bands changed. The names of bands also changed with the acquisition of new leaders or for other reasons. Unfortunately no real study of the bands of the Blackfeet tribes was made until after the buffalo disappeared and they had ceased to be of major importance as residential units. Two lists of the bands in the three Blackfeet tribes have been compiled by students of those tribes. Grinnell (1892, pp. 208-211) listed 24 Piegan bands, 13 Blood bands and 8 Northern Blackfeet bands. Wissler (1911, p. 21) listed 23 Piegan bands, 7 Blood bands and 6 Northern Blackfeet bands. However, Wissler acknowledges

B [114] the inadequacy of his data. It appears quite probable that the Piegan

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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agency and resold to the Indians. Women buy yard goods to make their dresses. Buckskin dancing outfits, made from purchased skins and beads, are owned only by wealthier individuals. It is not surprising that 16 per cent of the income goes for this type of article. Some saving could be effected for household goods as well as clothing if Indians were able to buy merchandise of better quality. As it is, they must buy only the least durable.

The individual variation depends on size of income, number of dependents, and extent of social participation. Among the poorer people with dependents as much as 80 per cent of the income goes directly to whites for merchandise and services. These people tend to curtail their expenditures for gifts, travel, entertainment, and tribal functions. To spend money on tribal functions usually means that one is oneself an elder in a functioning age-group or religious society or one has kinsmen who are members. Bachelors with few dependents and even with small incomes, tend to spend a larger share on travel, gifts, and entertainment. In this respect they are like wealthier persons with dependents who may spend only about 50 per cent of their incomes on necessities, while a greater proportion goes through intra-reserve channels to Indians.

Distribution of Wealth and Social Classes

Of the 800 people on the Blackfoot reserve in 1939 there were 222 males over eighteen, the age when, having finished their schooling, they are expected to begin earning their own living. Of these males about 30 were not married and had no families to support; they were supported in part by their parents or their brothers. This leaves roughly 190 men who must support their families and other dependents. Females eighteen years or over numbered about 185. The preferred practice is to marry girls as soon as they leave school. Thus women are cared for in the family unit by husbands, parents, or brothers; widows commonly return to the houses of their brothers or their sisters and hence need not be considered separately.

Through the agency a portion of the reserve income goes to all Blackfoot or to all members of limited classes of Blackfoot, such as the aged. For all individuals this income includes rations and annuities. Between the ages of seven and eighteen all children receive from one of the two boarding-schools an elementary education, board, and keep. All persons over fifty receive additional annuities,

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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our informants demanded special gifts when at their suggestion we drove them to distant parts of the reserve to be shown by them the exact location of a given episode. Indians also take great delight in telling whites of an incident where the Mounted Policeman broke an Indian injunction by passing in front of a sacred procession on the reserve. Within half an hour the police horse stumbled and broke its leg, throwing the policeman to the ground. This would teach the whites to have more respect for Indian beliefs.

To be sure there are friendly whites. When an Indian had run out of gasoline and was offered a few gallons by a railway employee, this man's generosity became widely known. The Ukrainian farmers, shunned by the English-speaking population, are generally considered to be good neighbours; they exchange milk, eggs, and garden produce with the Indians for surplus rations of tea and flour. From time to time they even furnish contraband liquor. Yet in all these contacts such hospitality as an invitation to meals is seldom shown an Indian by a white or accorded a white by an Indian.

Thus the vast majority of Indians remains voluntarily segregated on the reserve. Lack of employment opportunities in normal times have further contributed to this end. Maximum security is found on the reserve with people of their own kind. When they must leave, they go mainly in groups to places known for being receptive to them.

Such attitudes do not extend to the Blackfoot alone but characterize white attitudes towards Alberta Indians in general. Thereby solidarity among Indians living on different reserves has been fostered. Relationships with the Blood and Piegan have probably been warmer as a result, even though they were already friendly tribes in the past. More striking is the present amicable relationship with Crees who were once enemies. Thus, as though following inter-island trade routes through the sea of white culture, wagons travel frequently from reserve to reserve.

The nature of the interrelations between the reserves varies. There is some intermarriage, which implies occasional visits and, as befits a visit to one's in-laws, exchange of gifts. Particularly between the Blackfoot-speaking reserves where a common culture unites them, ceremonials such as the Sun Dance bring many to participate in as well as to witness the events. A considerable flow of ceremonial objects is found. Painted tipis, medicine bundles, and weasel-tail suits pass from hand to hand across reserve boundaries.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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177 This type of relationship does not obtain between the reserves with culture foreign to the Blackfoot, though a few Blackfoot have gone to Hobbema to witness the Sun Dance there. Even reserves with foreign cultures may furnish other Indians with havens; the Cree on their way to visit relatives at the Rocky Boy reservation in Montana frequently pass several nights on the Blackfoot reserve. Once a Blackfoot refugee from justice presented himself to a chief on a Dakota reserve in Saskatchewan, where he was accorded temporary refuge.

167 Permanent change of residence from one reserve to another is rarer than visiting because of legal complications. To change residence automatically disqualifies an individual from receiving benefits of the trust fund, and this most Blackfoot are loath to do. On the other hand the fame of the trust fund has spread far. There are many who would like to receive these benefits but the agent and the council of chiefs guard the Blackfoot interests rather jealously.

582 563 For an outside male to marry a Blackfoot woman and reside on the reserve is difficult. Permission of the agent and the council of chiefs is required, and they are reluctant to extend permanently the reserve benefits to outsiders. Where permission has been granted, it has [657] been mostly to other Blackfoot-speaking Indians. However, when an outside woman marries a Blackfoot, she is immediately eligible for rations and annuities when the marriage has been confirmed by the agent. Because of this opening many women from other tribes reside on the Blackfoot reserve. A sly Blackfoot saying runs that, if a man marries a woman off the reserve, he was unacceptable to Blackfoot women. This does not apply to the Blackfoot-speaking reserves so much as to the Sarsi and Cree. Nevertheless, many Cree and a few Sarsi women are receiving rations as if they had always resided on the reserve. For them, divorce or separation means loss of status as a reserve member, unless the marriage has been of long duration.

829 Attitudes towards the various reserves derive from a number of considerations, among which wealth, size of population, and the adherence to similar Indian ways of life seem most important. Because of common cultural heritage the Blackfoot-speaking reserves stand in the most favoured positions. The near-by Blood and North Piegans of Southern Alberta are known more intimately and received more warmly than the South Piegans from Montana. Members of wealthy and enterprising families on the Blood reserve

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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and propagated in at least one of the schools by prohibiting communication in Blackfoot. After a year the children are usually able to write simple sentences in English and by the fifth year compose simple stories. A periodical put out by the Roman Catholic school contains news of the school and specimen compositions by the children. There are also stories written in Blackfoot by one of the fathers who employs a semi-phonetic system of rendition. Unfortunately few Indians can read this material, since this system of writing Blackfoot is not taught in school. In addition to classes in religion, Christianity is taught through contact with the teachers, daily attendance at chapel, and witnessing the celebrations of feast days. The memorizing of prayers and catechism aids both English usage and religious indoctrination. Later, participation in the service as acolytes familiarizes the boys with church ritual. From the beginning children are taught the use of tooth-brushes, bathtubs, and other non-Indian paraphernalia. As they grow older, increased responsibility is given in the maintenance of the school. A boy may begin at seven with sweeping the dormitory and by seventeen be in charge of the milk cattle. Similarly, a girl may be first required to help set the table, while her older sister bakes bread in the school kitchen. These duties acquaint the young with white techniques of living which are intended for later use in reserve life.

Association with children of one's own age fits nicely into the Blackfoot pattern of age-grading. As in former times, school children call their class-mates "comrade," this term applying to both females and males. Between comrades sharing and co-operation is expected. They exchange gifts, make joint expeditions to town on Saturday, and work together in the school vegetable garden. Thus reinforced by the culture, one's class-mates usually become special associates for life. As young men, comrades play pool, gamble, seduce women, and get drunk together. Women, whose activities are circumscribed by the household, have less opportunity to continue contacts with their female comrades. We have evidence of the continuation of informal inter-age-grade rivalry and joking, but little of solidarity between alternate age-grades.

Normally school life continues until eighteen for boys. In the interest of morality school authorities see that girls are married before leaving school. Boys have usually been away from school a few years before marrying. After a maximum of eleven years in school the children have nominally completed eight grades. Actually

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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561 was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the pur-
575 chaser could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter
796 as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a
432 wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident.
173 Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was
582 still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians.
All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who
by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 397]

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Fig. 15 (50-5400c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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561 575 796 432 173 582

his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that

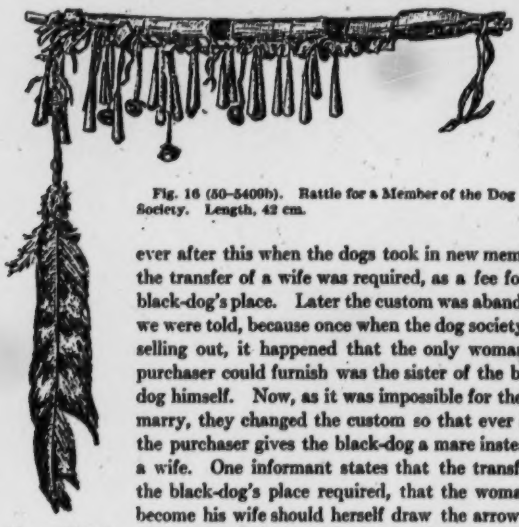

Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

561 575 796 534 237 531

ever after this when the dogs took in new members, the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned we were told, because once when the dog society was selling out, it happened that the only woman the purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black-dog himself. Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.[1]

561 575 796 432 173 582

THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (motsomita) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote-brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two individuals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

561 575 124

[1] See also Curtis, 6, 26.

888 "No, I don't think it is so great to be this old. A It was all right until lately, getting to see so many grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren. I feel like all the young people are my grandchildren. But now I am nearly blind, and I have about lost my sense of taste and my appetite. I don't care to eat anymore, unless it is something real sweet that I can taste. Life has been very good to me, but I don't want to end it becoming helpless and feeble."

A TRADITIONAL BLOOD MARRIAGE: A Grandmother Who Married at Seven

582 In the old days of buffalo hunting and living with nature, my grandmothers often got married when they were still little girls, while my grandfathers often were likely to wait until they had overcome their love for constant fighting and adventure, which was usually not until they were near thirty 582 years old. It was not unusual for men in their twenties to be 595 single and living in the lodges of their parents, and it was common for a proud man of sixty or seventy to have six or seven wives, including some that were young enough to be his grandchildren.

The matter of multiple wives and young brides is another that must be seen from the viewpoint of my ancestors' natural 000 life-styles to be understood and appreciated. For other examples of such male-female relationships we need only look at wild animals, such as the buffalo and elk, that my ancestors lived near. The big old bulls are the ones who have harems of cows, while the young bulls hang around together and only occasionally manage to find a spare cow to take for a wife.

One result of those old-time relationships, if we place any value on the philosophy of survival of the fittest, is that in the past the older men among my people were those who had

A [i.e., about 100--Analyst]

582 Many parents were happy to give their daughters away in marriage while they were still quite young and innocent. It was thought that they would do better growing up in their husbands' household, especially if there were already other wives who could teach them the ways of their household. If a man treated his wives well and they had younger sisters, the parents often said: "He has proven himself a good son-in-law, so we know you will not go wrong with him." Parents who were poor or sickly often gave their daughters away at a young age if they had a hard time to provide for them. While most women didn't get married until they were fourteen or sixteen, and some never got married at all, quite a number of women in the old days started their married life as child brides. One of these is a very kindly lady who has lived into her eighties feeling quite satisfied with life. She is one of those who always call girls my age "granddaughter," and I really admire her wisdom and experience.

115 Mrs. Annie Wadsworth is better known among her people as Brown Woman. Her father was named Moon Calf, and her mother, Forward Stealing Woman. She had two well-known brothers named Ernest Brave Rock and Fred Tail-
582 feathers. When she was seven years old her parents gave her in marriage to eighteen-year-old Willie Wadsworth, who had just graduated from the reserve's boarding school. She says that he treated her very well throughout their long life together, and she is proud of their accomplishments at farming, and such traditional roles as the keeping of a medicine pipe. They had twelve children.

BROWN WOMAN'S STORY

584 Yes, I was still running amongst the girls. I was still small and naughty. My father told me one day, "You will get married. There is a boy that just came out of school. He is a gentle boy, so he will be kind to you."

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That is the Bloods' secret society for men, and she is one of the few women that ever joined as a full member. Usually women only join with their husbands, except those of us who put up Sun Dances may not join at all. My husband was a member without me, and he also made the pledge for our daughter to join, when she was so sick. She took over the membership bundle from Crop-Eared Wolf, our old head chief. I made her a new beaded outfit of buckskin to wear during the society's public dances. You couldn't even tell that she was not a man. She was pretty slim, anyway.

Besides having a daughter join the Horns Society, my son named Sacred Child joined it when he was only fourteen, which is very young. We have also owned four different painted lodges. They were all very old designs, handed down from long ago. The Fish-Painted Lodge was given to one of my grandchildren by my husband, before he died. He also gave our Yellow-Painted Lodge to another grandchild. He said: "I will give these to my grandchildren so they can be put on small tipis and they can play in them," but he died before this could be done.

THE STORY OF CATCHES-TWO-HORSES

Our Blackfoot relatives in Montana had a famous head chief named White Calf, who died in Washington, D.C., while on tribal business in 1903. He had eight wives and many children. One of these wives was Catches-Two-Horses, who was born around the mid-eighteen hundreds. In 1923 she gave the following story to Walter McClintock, from whose notes I quote her:

"I was seven years old when I became the wife of White Calf. My older sister was already his wife. I remember my age, because I had lived one year with my husband before

582 I lost my first teeth. I have never cared for any other man, nor did I have a secret lover.

657 "My father was Black-Snake Man. He was head chief of the tribe many years ago. I remember when he first told our people they were going to get food from the government. At that time were were camped at the place where the Yellowstone River flows into the Missouri. Then many Indians were starving because the buffalo had disappeared.

796 "During my life I have given three Sun Dance ceremonies.
782 I gave my first Sun Dance because of a battle with the Assiniboines. I made a vow in order that Sun might keep some of my relatives from being injured in the fight. I gave my second to fulfill a vow by my son Cross Guns. He made it in battle when surrounded by enemies. Cross Guns escaped and came home. When I saw him I ran out to meet him. He kissed me and said: 'Mother, I have made a lot of trouble for you. In a fight with the Crows I was surrounded and thought I was going to be killed. I made a vow to Sun. I promised that if I came through alive you would make a Medicine Lodge. I know this means suffering for you—to starve yourself and become thin and weak.' But I was glad. Quickly I made my vow, and I kept praying day and night until I performed the ceremony.

778 "I was fourteen years old when I learned about the medi-
425 cine pipes. One day White Calf had visitors in our tipi. He ran short of tobacco and asked me to borrow some from his friend Four Bears, the famous medicine man. When I came to the lodge of Four Bears I found it very crowded inside. I wondered what was going on, but had no idea that it was a medicine pipe ceremony. I stood in the doorway and asked Four Bears for the tobacco. He said he had none. I started to go away, but Four Bears called me back. He left his seat at the back of the tipi and took some tobacco from a bundle hanging over the doorway. It was a medicine pipe bundle. He burned incense and held the tobacco over it, then he made

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feet, and Bowdash, as she is named here, had gone back and forth trying to mediate between them. On her last trip she deceived the Blackfeet while the Flathead, as she knew, were making their escape to Fort Hall. [She was] killed by the Blackfeet after saving the party of Flathead, the people with whom she had been intimate in her later years."

THE BLOOD WHO RECLAIMED HIS STOLEN WIFE (And Then Named My Grandfather's Brother for the Incident)

In the days before guns and horses the main reason that our people went to war against others was to capture enemy women, or to recapture women of their own. Because of this, intertribal marriages are an ancient custom, and actually pure-blooded members of any one tribe are not likely to exist. From stories I have heard, it was not unusual for a whole camp of men to be wiped out and their women captured and brought home by the victors. Of course, some of the captured women were killed also, but if they accepted their fate and were able to work, they were usually married by their captors.

My own family history includes several accounts of captured women. My father's great-grandfather once captured a woman from the Shoshone tribe, which lived in the country south of us. They call themselves River People, but the sign they made for their name, long ago, means Snake in our version of the sign language, so we call these people Snakes. My father's great-grandfather was a warrior named Big Top, and he had a son with this Shoshone woman before her brothers came up and begged for her release. Big Top let her go, since he had other wives from among his own people. He kept the son, but she was already seven months pregnant with another.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
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Blood

a certain girl was by sending a very special present to the parents. Since the man was the boss of his family, it was up to him to decide. But you can be sure that most men consulted with their wives before deciding, and kind men consulted with their daughters also. This custom has just died out in recent years, since the time my own mother got married. 584 [431]

The special present was usually brought to the girl's parents by a friend of the young man who wanted her. If the parents accepted the gift, then the marriage was set. Sometimes this happened even though the girl didn't care at all for her suitor, or if she was already in love with someone else. In most cases, however, it didn't matter to the girls. They had been so closely watched while growing up that they didn't really have many opinions on the various eligible men. Few young men stood out by their bravery or early wealth. Parents of girls tried to get such men for their sons-in-law, since they were likely to provide well for their daughters and even for them in their old age. Parents who had several daughters hoped that their oldest one could find an ambitious husband who could afford to take the younger sisters when they became eligible. Some chiefs had over ten wives, many of whom were often sisters. I know of one woman who was only six or seven when she became the youngest wife of a head chief who had married her older sister. [431] 581 595

Some parents tried to get their daughters married at a very early age, so that they would be virtuous to their first husbands and perhaps put up a Sun Dance someday. One of my distant grandmothers who is still living was given to a young man as a bride when she was only seven. Her parents were poor, and this young man showed a lot of promise. He had just finished school. The two spent their whole lives together, had many children, and were both successful and happy. She still laughs when she tells me how her new husband's little sister gave her toys to play with, after the marriage, and how he used 582 585

name was First to Kill. Sweetgrass was one of her brothers. Joe and Lucy Trollinger moved north to Mosquito Creek, along the trail from Fort MacLeod to Calgary, where they operated a halfway house, providing room and board. Joe became well known among the travelers of this area, who nicknamed him "Rutabaga Joe" because of his fondness for that vegetable. Our Old People named him Last to Get Angry, because he often said, "You got angry first, now I'm going to get angry." Grandma AnadaAki was the youngest of his five children with Lucy, but he never saw her. When Lucy was still carrying her, she learned of Joe's plan to take their eldest daughter, who was deaf and dumb, to Germany to have doctors operate on her. Afraid to have her child taken so far away, Lucy left Joe and returned to the reserve with all her children. She married Heavy Head shortly before Grandma was born. (This was about a year before he fulfilled his self-torture vow at the 1889 Okan.) The children were all given Heavy Head's name for their own last names. The memory of Trollinger lived on with two of Lucy's sons, both named Joseph. 115

Grandma married Joe Beebe, son of a white man also named Joe Beebe. Joe Beebe Senior was born in New York, but his Mormon parents soon moved by covered wagon to Utah. When he was about fifteen, Joe ran away from home and ended [582] [443] [439]

[p.57-B]

Bundle's blue-bead wristlets. The wristlets for the Long-Time Pipe stayed in Weaselhead's family for many years. The original drums from the Bundle are now owned by Many Grey Horses. They are often used at the opening ceremonies of our remaining sacred Pipes. 778 793 [432] [301] [534]

Bobtail Chief transferred the Long-Time Pipe to Stephen Fox, who vowed to take it during an illness. Stephen Fox was a successful rancher who owned many horses. Bobtail Chief did not think that enough of those horses were being sacrificed for something so Powerful as our Long-Time Pipe. During the transfer ceremony, after he had looked outside at the payments, he came back in and told the drummers to sing a special song in which he said, "I do not see that fine gray team among your payments."- Stephen Fox quickly sent someone after the matched team, which he had hoped not to lose. [782] [432] [435] [796] [533]

Stephen Fox was known by the name White-Plastering-His-Home until he became Owner of the Long-Time Pipe. During the transfer, he took on the name Big Eagle. This was in keeping with our tradition, which allows a person to take a new name for noteworthy accomplishment: a first coup, a long-distance journey, or a major role within our tribe. [551] [553] [555]

Stephen Fox left behind a large family when he died a few years ago. Some of them are well known in reserve politics, business, social affairs, and news media. He got the Fox name when, as a young boy, he was sent to school with his sister. The teachers did not care to learn the students' traditional names, so they decided to give them all "proper" names. Because his sister's name was Medicine Fox Woman, they were both given the last name of Fox. [551]

Calling First wanted to have the Long-Time Pipe, even though Stephen Fox did not wish to give it up so soon. So he decided to make sure of a transfer by stealing the Pipe from Stephen Fox. Fifty-two horses were among the payments made during that transfer. Calling First had the distinc- [432] [582] [584]

tion of having been married to a ten-year-old girl when he was only twelve. The marriage was arranged by their parents. It is said that Calling First used to have his mother watch his wife while he went out to play with his friends. 778 793 [582] [584]

During the 1930s our next-door neighbor, old Dick Soup, made a vow to take the Long-Time Pipe for his son, Arthur, who was then in a hospital. The following year Arthur returned home, and the Pipe was transferred to him. Old Bird Rattler called out the necessary coups while Soup was given the right to mount a horse (by tradition this required a man to relate how he had rescued a friend during battle) and to dismount (for which the coup had to be about an enemy who was pulled from his horse). Of course, no one today has such deeds among his record of accomplishments. [782] [432] [796] [555] [424] [425]

The next Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was Henry Standing Alone, also known as Folded Intestine. He and his wife were well-liked participants in our holy ceremonies. Unfortunately, they were killed recently in a tragic auto accident. Around 1939, Folded Intestine's daughter was very ill and he became depressed and lost his faith in our Old Ways. He wondered why his little girl had to suffer so much instead of him. But his daughter recovered and then he became critically ill. It took three months for him to get well again. While almost dead, he had a dream in which he was told that if he vowed to accept the duties of a Medicine Pipe Bundle, he would recover. He related his dream to two older relatives, Heavy Head and Cross Child, both former Medicine Pipe Keepers. They offered to help him fulfill his vow if he wished to follow their advice. They told him that since no particular Bundle had been mentioned in the dream, he might just as well vow the Powerful Long-Time Pipe. The Bundle was transferred to him during the next Sun Dance Encampment. [165] [771] [787] [782] [755]

Standing Alone transferred the Long-Time Pipe to his sister and her husband, John Red

[p. 149-B]

In 1929 Weasel Tail was camped by Waterton Lake with a number of our Old People. They told their stories to the writer Apikunni, who published some of them in his book, *Sun God's Children*. Weasel Tail told a long story about one war raid on which his wife accompanied him. The party went first to the Crows and successfully stole a number of horses. On their way home they were surprised and attacked by a large party of Crees who took the recently captured horses and rode off with them, leaving Weasel Tail and his party again on foot. 114 721 [562]

According to the story, Weasel Tail and his group then headed north in search of a camp of friendly Gros Ventres, but they mistakenly walked into a camp of unfriendly Assiniboines. The first person they met was a Blood named Sliding Down, who offered to speak for them in the lodge of the Assiniboine chief. The People of the enemy camp surrounded the chief's lodge and threatened Weasel Tail's party. The chief was not much friendlier than the rest, and it soon became evident that they were in for trouble. They were finally provoked into an argument that resulted in the whole group standing up and aiming their rifles at the chief. Weasel Tail said that his wife carried her six-shooter and aimed it along with the rest. He said that he gave a terrible roar to show them his Power. [562]

Sliding Down, who had married into the Assiniboines and spoke their language, told them that Weasel Tail was a ferocious warrior who had killed many but had never been injured himself. The Assiniboines fled and Weasel Tail and his party promptly withdrew. They were not followed and made a safe escape. [582] [191]

Weasel Tail said that the party then split up. He and his wife and one other man went south to try again for Crow horses. On the way they encountered a lone Crow man who had lost his wife and was wandering around, mourning. Weasel Tail caught the man by surprise, but pitied him and gave him his life, with a prayer to Sun to help him if he should ever be in a similar situation. [727] [782]

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[791] Bear Shield, around 1900. Also known as Fig Shirt, he was a brother of the chief, One Spot, and was
best known for being a lady fancier and user of Love Medicine. He married a number of times, once
even to a white woman. He is wearing one of the holy war-shirts, said to have been bullet proof.
[582] Around his neck is a large brass bell, perhaps to call attention to himself, and a beaded case for a
[372] pocket mirror. His rings are made of brass wire. From his gun hangs an iron, which was struck with
flint to make sparks for fires. (Pollard Photo)

looks so clean and new. When we said yes, she told us this story: One time Ponah was visiting the Red Crows. She knew her sister was always a good housekeeper and never liked to see dirty things around. When the Red Crows had gotten their Pipe, the old shawl covering it clearly showed its many years of protecting the Bundle. So during this visit, when Ponah noticed her sister washing what looked like the Bundle's shawl, she went to look at the Bundle and saw that an ordinary blanket was covering it. "You must be crazy," she told her sister. "Do you want us all to drown in a big thunderstorm? You're not supposed to wash holy things like that!" Poor Mrs. Red Crow felt very badly. She had never been told such a thing.

Now she holds sacred duties as the Scabby Bull for the Motokiks, a position transferred to her a few years ago by Doreen Day Rider, the previous Scabby Bull.

MRS. ROSIE DAVIS

Mrs. Rosie Davis is the oldest person on the Blood Reserve.

I don't know how old I am. Nobody ever told me the exact year of my birth. People usually say that I am one hundred years old, and they are probably right. I was still a little girl when the 1877 Treaty was signed.

I was born in Fort Benton. My mother married a white man named Smith, who worked on a Missouri River steamboat out of Fort Benton. We lived there when I was young; my father would come to see us between trips. My mother's father, Iron Pipe, took my mother and me up to the Blood Reserve so that we would be registered on the band rolls for the signing of the 1877 Treaty. He told my father he would try to send us back down to Fort Benton somehow.

When the treaty was finally settled, my grandfather could not find anyone to accompany us

ing and travel. Yet each group was able to function within its prescribed limits. 621 182 [175]

Flexibility was the key to the success of the band system. Each band was flexible in size, structure, and movements. Within the course of a year, a band might join with another band for several months, divide because of intraband controversy, move northward to join the Blackfeet if the buffalo were more plentiful in that region, or winter with the Piegans because of family relationships. Similarly, if a band became too large, it might split into two bands. This happened in the 1870s when the Many Children broke off from the Many Fat Horses band. If disease or warfare should decimate a band, it could easily amalgamate with another and ultimately lose its identity. A good example is the Bear People band, which became involved in a battle with their fellow Blackfeet and, after the leaders were killed, the remainder of the tiny group fled to the Fish Eaters and were absorbed by them.

The variations were numerous. There was even one situation where two members of the Fish Eaters band, Scalp Robe and The Duck, gathered a strong family unit around them. It had all the appearances of a new band and, because the two men walked quickly like pacing horses, the group was known as the Pacer Fish Eaters. Yet neither man wanted to separate from the parent band, so their followers remained with the Fish Eaters—almost a separate band, but not quite.

The Blood bands, as such, had no taboos or restrictions as did the warrior and religious societies. The practice of marrying within a band was frowned upon, not because of any band taboo, but because the couple was probably related. As one informant (Charlie Pantherbone, 1960 pers. comm.) stated: "Two persons from the same band cannot marry. The leading man was usually the father of all the members, so he did not want his children to marry each other." 621 [184] 621 582 [115]

On the other hand, if the band member was an orphan adopted from another band, a widow who had remained in her husband's band after his death, a young man who had come to work as a herder, or one of the many nonrelatives to be

found in a band, then the restriction did not apply. One of my informants, for example, had been born into the All Tall People band but had been raised by his maternal grandmother, a Fish Eater, and later married a Fish Eater. The band affiliation was not important; the blood relationship was. 621 582

As a matter of fact, a humorous situation developed among the wealthy Fish Eaters band, as described by an informant (Pantherbone, 1960, pers. comm.): "There are those we called the *Sik-awk-oh-mi-yowi* or Roundabout Fish Eaters," he said. "This referred to men from other bands who were adopted into the Fish Eaters and later married someone from the band. They became Fish Eaters by a roundabout or devious route." 621 591

Grinnell's (1892:208) definition, cited earlier, that the Blood bands were patrilocal was also supported by The Reverend John Maclean (1895:251) who said, "The wife goes with her husband to his gens and lives there with him"; yet here again, field research indicated that exceptions were almost as common as the norm. In fact, a matrilocal practice appeared to be quite common where the girl was from a more affluent band and particularly if her father was a chief. For example, a Blood named Bull Shield joined his wife's band, the Scabbies, and became its leader when his father-in-law died in 1878. Another man, Running Rabbit, was a Black Elk but joined the Fish Eaters when he married the favorite daughter of the chief of that band. In later years, he was recognized as a subchief of the group and was appointed a treaty chief by the Canadian government. 621 622 591 [100]

When one examines the family of Red Crow, the wealthy head chief of the Blood tribe and leader of the Fish Eaters, the movement of young men to his band is evident. Crop Eared Wolf, a member of the Many Children, joined the Fish Eaters in the 1840s when his sister married Red Crow and he later became its leader; Sleeps On Top, Yellow Creek, and Medicine Pipe Stem transferred from the All Tall People when their sister married Red Crow; and No Chief and Many Mules joined when they married daughters

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
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836 But while the faithless wife was thus exposed to punish-
589 ment and obloquy, it was different with the unmarried woman. She was regarded as mistress of her own actions and no shame attached to her for unchastity. Many young women in every village carried on a business of common prostitutes without suffering any loss of standing. On the contrary, they were received everywhere on terms of social equality, and often subsequently became faithful wives.
837 A similar immunity from punishment or popular censure was enjoyed by the wife whose lewdness was with the consent of or by the direction of her husband. Such cases were not infrequent, sometimes from a desire for gain, again as a point of hospitality to a favored guest, particularly when the host, as was very common with the Blackfeet, enjoyed a plurality of wives.

INTRODUCTION OF THE YOUNG MAN AS A WARRIOR

701 Usually about the age of sixteen the young man is re-
702 garded as a warrior. He reaches this dignity by no ceremony, but it is tacitly admitted by virute of his strength, hardihood and ability and readiness to meet the foe in
[756] combat. When he first determines to seek the war path, his father usually procures the services of a medicine man, who paints him with mystic devices and mutters over him an invocation for courage, success in war, and a safe return, after which his father presents him with weapons
[729] and if able, a horse, and he is ready for the field. As a
[555] rule, the young men are very ambitious to distinguish themselves in war and seek every opportunity to win the
[883] honor that war-like deeds can alone secure. Not infrequently, however, they are great drones, lounging in the village, participating neither in the war nor the chase until they take wives, when perforce they must exert themselves to live.

AGE OF MARRIAGE

584 About the age of twenty-five the young warrior begins to
[582] think of having a wife. Having selected the woman he
[583] would thus honor, he loses no time in employing the civilized device of a tedious and uncertain courtship, but

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

584 secures the services of a friend, who goes to the father of
583 his intended, states his desire and enumerates the gifts to
585 be made to him in the event of his consent. If the father gives favorable ear to his suit, he simply sends the girl to the young warrior's lodge, who there receives her and the marriage ceremony is over. It is usual for the parents of the girl to send with her as presents to her husband such articles as their means allow, and these often exceed in value the gifts that have been received from him. Two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute
[562] the customary offering in cases of intended marriage. The wishes of the girl are not consulted pending the matrimonial negotiations, but she rarely, if ever, objects.

582 Such is the custom to which she has grown up and she
607 is a passive instrument in her father's hands. It is to be
[562] remarked, however, that should she have a brother-in-law of mature years, it is even more important to conciliate him. To him revert all the proffered gifts and his opposition to the marriage would generally prevent its occurrence. Where there are several brothers-in-law it is the eldest only who enjoys this consideration.

POLYGAMY

595 Polygamy is extensively practiced among the Blackfeet and the number of wives a man may have is only limited by his ability to procure and support them. If the eldest daughter of a family is first married, it is tacitly understood that her younger sisters are bound to her husband likewise, and as fast as they arrive at the proper age they are sent to him without ceremony.

FATHERS-IN-LAW AND MOTHERS-IN-LAW

602 From the moment of marriage all direct intercourse between a husband and his wife's relatives or a wife and her husband's relatives was at an end. The husband addressed his wife's family only through her, and she observed the same rule with regard to his. Relatives by marriage sought to avoid meeting each other and would turn out of their paths for that purpose, but when an encounter was unavoidable they would hang down the head or muffle the